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In This Issue

Political Legends on Hadrian's Coinage: Policies and Problems

.....*291*

By T. F. CARNEY

On the Cover:

Reverse of gold medallion of Justininan I. (A.D. 527-565) BMC, p. 25.

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The Political Legends on Hadrian's Coinage: Policies and Problems

T. F. Carney, F.R.N.S.*

Inspired by the obverse bust type of Hadrian on the June cover of the *Turtle* and by some current work I am engaged in on the political vocabulary of the Hadrianic period, I submit the following findings on those legends of Hadrian's coinage which obviously embody political slogans or catch-words[1]. The idea is to see whether any significant patterns emerge in the themes urged in any particular metal (or combination of metals) or at any particular time in the reign. The great extent and variety of the coinage associated with the reign strongly indicates that Hadrian did in fact use this, the only mass medium available to him, to present his version of a reign which aroused much and varied comment[2]. This supposition is all the more likely as it is inferred from a policy which contrasts markedly with that of the generality and conventionalism of Trajanic coins and which seems to have gone out of its way to minimize repetition of Trajanic themes[3]. An assumption throughout is that precious metal

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1. H. Mattingly & E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. II (London, Spink & Son) 1926, 314-485 is the basic numismatic reference. I have considered only reverse legends, not including joint coinages with Aelius and Antoninus, and accepted the *RIC* suggested dating system. Reverse legends involving mere formal titulature have also not been considered, as the objective is to examine the ways in which political catch-words were handled.

2. *RIC* accredits Trajan's reign with 836 coins and 4 variants (of these 108 are *aes*); Hadrian's reign is accredited with 1095 and 222 (107 *aes*). On the controversy surrounding Hadrian's reign see R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford, Clarendon), 1958, chapters 20, 37 and 44 & pp. 517-19; cf. *Cambridge Ancient History* vol. XI, 1954, 297-324.

3. On the generality and conventionalism of Trajanic coinage see *RIC* 237-8; if one contrasts Trajanic reverse types (no formal titulature being considered) the following 18 overlaps occur: *Aet. Aug.; Consecratio; Divi Nerva et Traianus Pater; Dardanici; Divus Pater Traian.; Felicitas Aug. Cos.; Fort. Red. S.P.Q.R. Optimo Principi; Mars Victor; Metalli Pannonici; Pax; Pietas August.; Provid.; Roma; Salus Aug.; S.P.Q.R.; Vesta; Vota Suscepta.* Of these, 2 *(Consecratio & Vesta)* occur in Antoninus' campaign to refurbish Hadrian's image and so are not, properly, Hadrianic; others are only very loosely associated with Hadrianic coins *(Mars Victor & Metalli Pannonici)* or are dictated by the initial urgent need to persuade the public that Hadrian had properly succeeded Trajan. The remainder are of a most general and non-committal nature.

coins, in particular gold, were handled almost exclusively by the more well-to-do upper echelons of imperial society, who also were almost the only members of their society to be fully educated in the Great Tradition of their Graeco-Roman literary culture and to enjoy a sophisticated awareness of the workings of government[4]. Thus differences in the messages presented on the gold (and silver) as opposed to *aes* (and *orichalcum*) reflect imperial perceptions of issues that were meaningful for different sectors of society. This in turn suggests, *via* their different political cultures, significant subgroups in imperial society, an assumption that can be checked against trends emerging from the mass of the coinage.

Clearly the above assumptions need some qualification. Obviously, completely different social groups would be handling gold pieces as opposed to copper coins, but silver and *orichalcum* would be handled by a variety of groups: donatives and *congiaria* would be paid out in silver, in the first instance, to the rankers among the soldiery and the poor, though the latter would normally convert these into, and transact business in, *orichalcum* and *aes*, just as their betters (and foreign traders) would tend rather to handle silver coins. Moreover there are signs that *aes* was dropping out of use, possibly as result of the inflationary tendencies hastened by Trajan's reign[5].

Clearly, then, if the imperial authorities wanted to reach these different target audiences, they would have to put the concept they wished to emphasize on a variety of metals. A legend on gold, silver, *orichalcum* and *aes*, *i.e.* maximum coverage, would reach the vast mass of the society of the Empire and significant foreigners, whereas silver alone would tend to make its legends most familiar to high officials (civil and military), traders, land-owners and such foreigners. As gold reached a most restricted audience and *aes* was dropping out of use, legends on silver and *orichalcum* would reach all

4. The use of the word 'coin', which carries with it connotations of a price-fixing system of markets in a 'disembedded economy', can involve serious misconceptions. Rome struck precious metal currency because it was thus over-valued by symbolic means and gain accrued to the government. The aim was to provide the wherewithal to pay the troops. See K. Polanyi, C. M. Arensberg, & H. W. Pearson, *Trade and Market in the Early Empires*, Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois, 1957 and S. Bolin, *State and Currency in the Roman Empire to 300 A.D.*, Almquist & Wiksell, Stockholm, 1958.

5. See Carney, *A Catalogue of the Roman and Related Foreign Coins in the Collection of Sir Stephen Courtauld*, University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Salisbury, 1963, xxvi-xxvii.

but the very rich and very poor and *orichalcum* alone would reach a massive group within the empire, from moderately well-to-do to poor. Again, patterns of legends and combinations of metals, if such emerge, will indicate what the general aims of the authorities were.

But first some observations on the great provincial coinages, whose striking nature and giant bulk (well discussed at *RIC* 331-33) clearly show that Hadrian wished to advertise the part played by the provinces in the imperial commonwealth. Now, inferring Hadrian's aims is a subjective process, but describing trends in this mass of coinage is not. It is here assumed that the more attention is given to a province the more it is desired that it be called to notice (of whatever sort). Thus nearly every province is mentioned; all *via* legends on *orichalcum* coins[6]—but some occur on silver coins too, and yet others on both gold and silver. Some provinces are referred to by only one legend, others by two, others by yet more. Some provinces are referred to merely by speaking of their land-mass; others have towns or districts within that land mass mentioned. And finally the legends indicate the type of help or activity of which the Emperor felt the provinces stood severally in need[7]. Two references are to regions not within the Empire, which suggests that the Emperor was, as was natural, thinking at least partly of provinces grouped by regions.

Taking all the above variables into account[8] the following picture emerges: the Anatolian massif is very salient. Mentioned are Asia, with Ephesus, Sardis and Smyrna, Phrygia+[9], Bithynia and Nicomedia+, Cappadocia and Cilicia. What might be called the Levant receives a great deal of attention, too: Egypt+ with Alexandria* and the Nile*, Judaea+, Syria+ and Arabia+. Taken with references to the Orient* and Parthia* this produces, by the criteria out-

6. Not mentioned are Corsica, Galatia, Lycia, Pannonia and Sardinia. Dalmatia is only mentioned on *aes*.

7. Legends either simply name the province (e.g. *Africa*) or involve a provincial name in one of the following three forms: *Adventui Aug. Africae, Exercitus Britannicus S.C., Restitutori Achaiae:* see *RIC* 331-3.

8. As may be imagined, this rotation of variables involved all the apparatus of 5 x 3″ cards, tables and matrices usual in multivariate analysis: I have spared the (editor, printer and) reader as much of this tabulation as possible, but will make xerox copies available to anyone desirous of replicating or extending this study.

9. Unless otherwise specified, the symbols mean that a legend marked* appears on gold, whereas one followed by + appears only on *orichalcum* or *aes*. No symbol thus means that the legend appears on silver coins.

lined in the previous paragraph, the region most emphasized in the imperial coinage. Asia is thought of largely as in need of restorative activities, the 'Levant' restorative and military attention, and the Parthians, expectably, are associated with military action.

The next area which receives a great deal of attention is what might be roughly categorized as the Danubian. Dacia, Dalmatia, Moesia Superior with Dardania and Pincum, Noricum, Raetia and Thrace are mentioned, but only on *orichalcum* (and Dalmatia, Dardania and Pincum only on *aes*). Given the significance of the precious metal coinages as message bearers, this must be intentional: this area is being played down somewhat. Another uncivilized border area which receives somewhat muted attention is that of Britain+ and Germany. However, if Gaul* is added thereto, this North-Western region fares somewhat better. The Danubian areas are overwhelmingly associated with military activities, as are Britain and Germany. Gaul was apparently in need of restoration.

If one looks at what might be termed the old commonwealth of the Empire (that won by the second century B.C.) one finds that it receives a striking amount of attention. Italy* with Rome* and Sicily+, then Spain* with Cadiz*, then Africa* (here, for geographical coherence I include Libya+ and Mauretania+) and Achaea* and Macedonia. Overwhelmingly, the theme emphasized is that of restoration, with references here and there to army activities (Spain and Mauretania).

One is left with the feeling that to some extent Hadrian's own personal experiences may have led him to advertise areas important to him (Cadiz & Spain, Bithynia & Nicomedia, Alexandria and the Nile). Also the regions given prominence seem to be the East, and the old 'Inner' Empire, the Danube and the North-West—in declining order of salience. There is some re-ordering of Trajanic priorities implicit in all this. It might be supposed that the precious metal coinages were produced largely with the relative economic development of the areas they variously name in mind. However the position is that gold coins speak of Achaea, Alexandria & the Nile, Gaul, Italy & Rome, Macedonia and Spain & Cadiz. The silver goes to Asia & Ephesus, Sardis & Smyrna, Bithynia & Nicomedia, and Germany. Arabia, Phrygia, Sicily and Syria have only *orichalcum*. There is more to such

distribution of the metals than a simple aim to pay legionaries in good, ruddy *orichalcum* coins, clearly.

TABLE I

		Nos. of Different Legends
Single Metals	*Orichalcum*	20
	Silver	10
	Gold	7
	Aes	4
Combinations of Metals	Gold, Silver, *Orichalcum*	18
	Silver, *Orichalcum*	9
	Gold, Silver	5
	Gold, Silver, *Orichalcum, Aes*	5
	Silver, *Orichalcum, Aes*	4
	Gold, *Orichalcum*	2
	Orichalcum, Aes	1

This brings us back to the question about policies behind the association of different types of legend with various metals and combinations thereof at different periods in the reign. Two tables will set out the facts most succinctly: see Tables 1 & 2. *Orichalcum* was obviously the best metallic medium for putting messages around, followed by silver, then gold (in the legends restricted to one type of metal). The most important *combinations* of metals on which to put a message across were: gold, silver, *orich.*; silver & *orich.*; gold & silver and gold, silver, *orich.* & *aes*. Some combinations are not found (gold & *aes*), others are rare (gold & *orich.* and—oddly—*orich.* & *aes*). *Aes* is neglected, possibly because inflation had rendered it unimportant, possibly because illiterate paupers would be its most frequent handlers. 'Total' coverage (gold through aes) is rare: three of the five cases of a legend borne by all four metals date to the 138-9 period. There is some indication of patterns of usage: *e.g.* gold coins cluster in the periods 117-22 & 134-8, as do silver and *orichalcum*; the 138-9 period is quite different: silver bears most varieties of legend, followed by *orich.* and then by *aes* (most frequent in this period). Generally speaking, rather more types of legend appear on the precious metal than on the *orich.* and *aes*—except in the periods 125-8 and 138-9. What might be defined as the public-relations needs of the three periods which saw the greatest proliferation of legends were markedly different. In 117-22 Hadrian had to urge the constitutionality of his accession and defend his military and internal security policies; in 134-8 he had to reassure Roman and Italian qualms that his support of the armies and prov-

inces was not aimed at subverting the interests of the Italian heartland, and in 138-9 his successor had to cozen a reluctant metropolitan and Italian public opinion into honouring a by now detested Hadrian.

TABLE II

Different Varieties of Legend

Metals	117-22	125-8	132-4	134-8	138-9	
Gold	15	0	1	21	4	
Silver	23	0*	4	23	15	
Orich.	27	8	5	37	13	
Aes	3	2	0	1	7	4†

*(1 - 130 AD) † Undatable

It is easier to describe what happened than to divine the policies behind it, so we will turn to the themes urged *via* the legends to see whether, together with the types of metals used, any suggestive patterns will emerge. The legends which only appear on gold coins tell a very clear story[10]: they cluster all together in the opening years of the reign and urge the message that Hadrian had been adopted by Trajan and that the Eastern problem had been solved: their aim is clearly that of countering the scandal mongering of the upper *echelons* of imperial society. The legends restricted to *aes*[11] seem to have been borne by limited issues put out to pay miners or for donatives: locality is stressed; there is no political message (or date). Legends restricted to silver coinage[12] post-date 130 A.D., mostly occurring in the 134-9 period. Five of the ten refer to Asia and her important trading communities; two others refer to Italy and Germany and two more to Rome's success in war and the peace of her Empire, themes which concern the cosmopolitan world of traders—as one might expect, since all accounting, at this time, was done in terms of silver coins. The remaining coin advertises Hadrian's resolute endurance of the painful disease which finally claimed his life, a public relations measure necessitated, presumably, by his notorious and unsuccessful attempt at suicide. Legends restricted to *orichalcum* coins cluster, largely, in the periods 117-22 and 134-8[13]. The earlier coins stress

10. They are *Divis Parentibus; Divo Traiano Patri; Herc. Gadit.; Matidiae; Oriens; Traiani Parthici* and *Triumphus Parthicus.*

11. They are *Aeliana Pincensia; Dardanici; Met. Delm.;* and *Met. Nor.*

12. They are *Com. Bit.* (c. 130); *Tranquillitas* (132-4 & 138-9); *Asia, Germania & Marti* (134-8); *Diana Ephesia & Italia* (134-8 & 138-9), and *Patientia Aug., Sard. & Smyr.* (138-9).

13. Occurring in 117-22 are *Adventus Aug.; Ann. DCCCLXXII Nat. Urb. P. Cir. Con. S.C.; Divus Traianus Aug. Parth. Pater S.C.; Exped.*

measures for debt-relief, announce the Emperor's arrival in Rome and his subsequent journeying forth, emphasize a popular festival and declare, purportedly under senatorial authorization, that Trajan was his father (in declining order of emphasis). The later coins advertise provinces and armies by and large, though one does hymn the constitutionality of it all. These presumably were aimed at different users, the former provincials, the last metropolitan Romans and Italians. These themes suit the world of the man in the street, who would be the most frequent user of the coins.

The sole instance of a legend appearing both on *orich.* and *aes* is the very general *Britannia:* the *aes* legend occurs in 119-22, the *orich.* in the spate of provincial coinage in the 134-8 period. Arguments based on a single instance are notoriously subjective, so I will not waste words on this one. Two legends appear on gold and *orich. Virtuti Aug.* occurred in *orich.* twice in the 119-22 period, when the Emperor's various sexual athleticisms may indeed have needed some form of public-relations counter-suggestion. It appeared on the gold in the 134-8 period, when senior army officers and upper echelons of society in general—may well have needed reassuring that, in spite of his wooing of the ranker, the Emperor still did remain a virtuously constitutional military leader in control of his men. Certainly the other legend, *Disciplina Aug.* (mis-spelled *Discipulina,* often, on the *orich.,)* coming in 134-8, should refer to the Emperor's tightening up of military discipline and efficiency. It was presumably aimed to indicate this fact to the most senior levels within the army, as well as to the ranks (and would have a different meaning according to one's rank, viz. 'no aggressive militarism' and 'obedience to orders'). For what the observation is worth, it is perhaps possible that all these legends involve coins intended primarily for distribution among troops.

Four legends appear on silver, *orich.* and *aes.* Of these, two, *Pudicitia* and *S.C.*, only occur on all three metals in the 138-9 period, when, in an attempt to refurbish Hadrian's image, Antoninus seems to have made a feature of running the same legend on a wide range of metals. Otherwise *Pudicitia* only occurs early (119-22) in silver; possibly a counter to scandals

Aug.; Locupletatori orbis terrarum; Reliqua vetera Hs novies mill. abolita; Salus Publica. To 125-8 date *Exped. Aug. and Neptunus Redux.* Then nothing till the legends of 134-8: *Adventui Africae (etc.); Aegyptos; Cappadocia; coh. Praet. S.C.; Dacia; Exercitus Britannicus (etc.); Judaea; Mauretania; Sicilia* and *S.P.Q.R., S.C.;* 138-9 produces only *Adlocutio S.C.* and *Sabina Augusta.*

concerning the Emperor's sexual activities, it was subsequently (advisedly) dropped. *S.C.*, on the other hand, occurs in every period but 132-4 in *aes*, presumably in an attempt to induce the commons to believe in a non-existent amity between Senate and Emperor. The legend commences on the *orich.* coins in 125-8, when formal legends were in vogue. *Pietas* is a legend which is sedulously paraded on all three metals but particularly on the silver. It mostly occurs in the 117-22, 134-8 and 138-9 periods: in the first period to quell qualms about the propriety and constitutional intent of the new Emperor; in the second to reassure that others would not be subordinated, against custom, to soldiers and provincials, and finally to plead for due honour to the dead Emperor. *Annona* occurs mostly, as one would expect, on the *orich.*, and occurs from 119-134: once on the *aes*, in the formal 125-8 period; and once on the silver, in the reassurances to Italy of the 134-8 period. It seems as though there was no policy of using this combination of metals to promulgate one concept until 138-9, and these legends seem aimed at a traditionalist, Italian audience of modest means, by and large.

The legends appearing on the gold and silver coins form a much more coherent body of suggestions. The legends deal with issues to which the wealthy, who would be handling such money, would be sensitive: first *Adoptio* (117), then the dutiful *Plotinae Aug.* (118). Succession 'dealt' with, assurance of constitutional government follows: the *Genius* of the Roman People is lauded, a Golden Age is augured and Vows are undertaken (not to put Senators to death without trial before their peers?). These legends seem initially to have been put out as a bloc of claims pertaining to the legality of the Emperor's accession and the constitutionality of his aims in the 117-22 period. They are reverted to in the 134-8 period when, once again, Roman and Italian qualms needed reassurance: the *Genius P.R.* and *Vota Suscepta* legends reappear, on gold coins, the latter legend now for the first time paired with a similar legend on the silver. The same very specific target audience was obviously in mind on both occasions.

Clearly, it *was* set policy to run the same legend on the gold and silver. Equally clearly there was also a policy to run the same legend on all four metals: *Concordia*, *Juno* and *Vesta* are so treated in the 138-9 period, when tardy honours were being done Hadrian's quarrelsome wife Sabina, who is thought to be referred to by these abstractions. Actually Hadrian, so much beset by quarrels, seems to have promulgated the *Con-*

cordia theme on gold, silver and *orich.* in the 117-22 and 134-8 periods (these three metals together effectively gave maximum coverage and the frequent use of this combination during his reign, when contrasted with the switch to four under Antoninus, may very well indicate Hadrianic policy: see below). Another legend much promoted by Hadrian was *Salus Augustis:* on gold, silver and *orich.* in the initial time of conspiracy: formally, on *aes* in the 125-8 period, and on silver and *orich.* in the reassurances of 134-8 (naturally, the legend does not occur in 138-9). *Venus Genetrix* (and *Felix*) struck in gold and silver in the 134-8 period would be the military, Caesarean *Venus* to the armies; struck in silver, *orich.* and *aes* in 138-9, it would remind an Italian audience of (1) the deification of an Empress (hopefully, suggesting a similar apotheosis of an Emperor!), (2) a traditional Italic deity or (3) an earth-mother *cum* fertility goddess—according to the predilections for such abstractions, which seems to have varied with socio-economic levels in society.

We are left with two combinations which Hadrian seems to have come, by 134-8 at any rate, to regard as particularly suitable for conveying ideas to the society of the empire (they are the two most frequently used and the suggestions they promote cluster most readily into themes). Nine legends occur on silver and *orichalcum*, the metals through which any big hand-out of money must have been handled. In six cases both metals bear the legend in the 134-8 period (and in four of these the legend *only* occurs so paired at this point) and in every case but one the *orichalcum* of 134-8 bears these legends.[14] Otherwise the 117-22 period is the time involved. Given the prominence of silver, these messages are aimed at the moderately wealthy, as well as those of modest means (no *aes* means that non-political elements in society are not being considered). The message is clear: peaceful stability *(Pax (Victrix)* & *Tellus Stabilita)* with fairness *(Aequitas Augusti)* and

14. Joint promulgation of the legend on both silver and *orichalcum* occurs with *Aeternitas* (118-22) & *Providentia* (119-22), and *Aequitas, Alexandria, Felicitas, Indulgentia (S.C.), Providentia* (again) & *Tellus Stabilita (134-8); Indulgentia* reappears, so paired, in 138-9. *Providentia* is frequently urged (on the *orich.* in 125-8 & 132-4), but generally the policy seems rather to have been that of equipping a legend which had appeared on the silver of 117-22 with either a repetition paired on silver & *orich. (e.g. Felicitas)* or of equipping an early legend on the silver with a fellow on *orich.* to pair with it later: *Pax* (silver 117-22: *orich.* 138-9) & *Hilaritas* (silver 117-22: orich. 134-8) are cases in point. In all these cases the effect would be that of bringing the legend to the attention of a larger, if lower, social group (so *Aeternitas*, on both in 117-22, recurs on *orich.* alone in 134-8).

kindly forethought *(indulgentia, Providentia)* long-range planning *(Aeternitas)*, in a business-man's world *(Alexandria* features appropriately in this connection: it dominated Eastern trade lines). This is an interesting series, because it demonstrates how the propagandist needs of one period (e.g. *Hilaritas*, of the celebrations of Hadrian's succession; *Pax*, of his (unpopular) withdrawal of troops from the Eastern *imbroglio*, *Aeternitas*, of his perilously precarious succession), could be woven into those of another (the need to reassure Italy in 134-8 with indications of fair treatment, prosperity and forethought for all), and rounded off in yet another (to win posthumous popularity for Hadrian, his *Indulgentia* and the '*Hilaritas*' of his reign was called to mind in 138-9) so as to present a coherent statement of the life-work of an Emperor. There is more than one target audience here. Metropolitan Romans and Italians are being wooed—but so are businessmen (foreigners as well as members of the Empire). The upper echelons of society seem to have needed most convincing of the desirability of a policy of peace.

But the legends on gold, silver and *orichalcum* must have been dearest to the Emperor's heart, because there were so many of them (18—11 of which occur on all three metals in the 134-8 period).[15] These are the coins that Rome's senators, *equites*, influential freedmen, prominent provincials, bureaucrats and army officers would be handling. They comprised the most politically sophisticated large-scale audience that the Emperor could reach *via* this, his only mass medium. If legends change most frequently on the more valuable coins, it is because these coins were being constantly handled by the elements in imperial society who were most alert to and conscious of change. There is the usual concentration on the periods 117-22 and 134-8, but the latter is more heavily represented. And there is ample evidence that among these legends were themes with which the Emperor much wished to be associated: these recur in period after period or are frequently urged, often in more than one metal, within a period.[16]

The scandals, harsh decisions and uncertainties of the initial period produced a counter-vailing imperial picture of mild justice, affluence, security and victory *(Clementia, Felicitas, Iustitia, Liberalitas, Libertas, Moneta, Restitutori, Securitas,*

15. Respectively: *Africa, Felicitas, Hispania, Jovis, Justitia, Liberalitas, Libertas, Moneta, Vilus, Restitutori orbis terrarum, Roma Felix, Romulo Conditori, Securitas, Spes, Victoria Aug.* and *Vota Publica.*

16. Recurring right across the period are *Felicitas, Liberalitas* and *Securitas;* occurring particularly frequently in one metal (silver) are *Clementia, Justitia, Roma Felix* and *Vota Publica;* in two (silver and *orich.*) *Felicitas & Liberalitas.*

Victoria Aug., Vota Publica). Across the period themes consistently urged were *Clementia, Felicitas, Justitia, Liberalitas* and *Securitas*. The time for reassurance saw the additions of *Africa, Hispania, Jovis, Nilus, Roma, Romulo Conditori* and *Spes:* the provinces feature prominently here, as do the concepts of hope-filled new reconstruction and divine guidance. 138-9 adds only the consecration idea—of Sabina, as an augury for Hadrian. One gets the impression that the Emperor is partly parading his own hopes and achievements, partly speaking to his administrative officialdom throughout the Empire about the commonwealth they were helping him create. *Liberalitas* is the dole, *annona*, as seen by those who hand it out, rather than take it needfully: though the legend occurs at all periods, it only occurs on the gold when Italy needed reassuring that her Emperor cared for her (in 134-8). *Securitas*, occurring in all periods but 125-8 and 138-9 (inappropriate here), advances from *orichalcum* to silver to gold in process: It meant different things as it did so (security of private property for those of slender means; freedom of the seas and roads for trade; immunity from despotic persecutions for court circles).[17] *Clementia, Justitia* and *Libertas* would likewise have different connotations for those of high and low estate. Together, these augur well for relations between the Emperor and either type of subject. More constructive joint activities are outlined by references to the Mint (=provision of the currency that facilitated international trade), restoration activities *(Restitutori)*, victory and public vows (references to *Vota*, either *Publica* or *Suscepta*, only occur once on the *orichalcum*, and seem to have belonged to the world of the well-to-do). *Felicitas* sums up the result. The 134-8 period saw a significant quartet of additions: *Roma (Felix* or *Aeterna)* first in 132-4, and *Romulo Conditori* (a new founder of Roman greatness is adumbrated: first in 125-8), allied to Jove and *Spes*. The implication is that the work of reconstruction was prospering and boded well. Other legends[18] parade the contribution in all this of wealthy provincial trading areas. The series is well rounded out by the implicit pleas for apotheosis *(Consecratio)* in the 138-9 period.

Hadrian seems, incidentally, to have consciously adopted different policies in regard to coinage from Trajan. Of Hadrian's 1317 coins some 85 reverse types of clear political import

17. See in general Ch. Wirszubski, *Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome during the Late Republic and Early Principate*, Cambridge University Press, 1950, 124-71.

18. Viz. *Africa, Hispania* and *Nilus*.

have been considered: as has been indicated, there is only a very tenuous overlap—18 cases among the 46 reverses of this import considered in Trajan's 840 coins. Hadrian's 'restoration' idea is *quite* different from Trajan's, which had been a re-issue of a series of coins of the Republic and early Principate. Hadrian made much less use of *aes* (about one twelfth of his issues- by varieties of coin types and legends; statistics on volumes of issues are highly subjective—to about one eighth of Trajan's). Themes on Hadrianic coinage differ too: there is less repetition of formal titulature, less emphasis on war and building and less use of grandiloquent titles.

TABLE III

	Julius	Augustus*	Tiberius	Caligula	Claudius	Nero	Galba	Otho	Vitellius	Vespasian*	Titus*	Domitian
Annona	-	x	x	-	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
Clementia	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	-	x	-	-	x
Concordia	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	-
Felicitas	x	x	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	x	-	x
Iustitia	-	x	-	-	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	x
Liberalis	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
Pietas	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	-	-	x
Providentia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Salus Augusti	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	-	-	-
Securitas	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Thus spake Roman officialdom. How effective such public relations were is difficult to assess. A series of tests needs to be run on contemporary writings to see to what extent and in what sense this political vocabulary gained acceptance. The findings of one such test are outlined below to indicate the reaction of one influential and informed writer: Suetonius. Hadrian's one-time Secretary, seems to have written his *Lives* with oblique allusions to Hadrian's reign, certainly to the period 117-22.[19] Legends which occur in this period and are subsequently important (i.e. are urged frequently or in period after period) are: *Annona, Felicitas, Liberalitas, Providentia;* almost as salient are *Clementia, Concordia, Justitia, Pietas, Salus Augusti* (and *Securitas?*). Now Suetonius' usage involves certain groups of words which occur with high frequency (not all of these are vehicular—*e.g.* words like *habere* —and prepositions, conjunctions etc. are not considered). Meaningful groups involved 45 plus, 35 plus, and 25 plus repetitions. *None* of the imperial slogans appear therein. Table (3) indicates the Emperors whom Suetonius sees fit to associ-

19. See Carney, How Suetonius' *Lives* Reflect on Hadrian, forthcoming in (*Phoenix* 22, 1968).

ate with these slogans when he *does* use them (asterisks indicate Emperors of whom S. expresses approval). Not too much can be made of a single case-study, but possibly the following facts are significant. The Emperor who is assigned most of these words is Tiberius, for Suetonius a monster of deceit and insincerity. Suetonius' hero Titus gets none; his much admired Vespasian only one (contrast the hated Nero (6) and Domitian (4)). True Augustus gets 7: but one rather convincing theory argues that the *Augustus* was written before disenchantment with the Emperor set in[20]. It cannot have been easy *entirely* to avoid the use of *Providentia*, yet this was the only legend which *both* Trajan and Hadrian promoted industriously and must consequently have been strikingly associated with the case for officialdom. Perhaps the wave of feeling appearing in such things as Suetonius' oblique criticisms of Hadrian's sexual activities explain why the *Pudicitia* legend is so little used and so quickly dropped; significantly, the only omission from the roll-call of imperial virtues in Hadrian's coinage is the concept *Honos*[21]. There is little in all of this to indicate that imperial propaganda was effective with a man of rather narrowly Italian sympathies like Suetonius.

20. See G. Townend, The Date of Composition of Suetonius' *Caesares*, *Classical Quarterly* 9, 1959, 285-93.

21. For the list, see *RIC* 515.

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